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Message Text

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R 091831 Z MAY 73
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
INFO USMISSION IAEA VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

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E. O. 11652: N/ A
TAGS: PARM, IAEA, BE, CA, NL
SUBJECT: ZANGGER COMMITTEE MEETING MAY 16
REF: (A) VIENNA 3740
(B) STATE 085097
(C) VIENNA 3681

1. ZANGGER COMMITTEE IS AD HOC GROUP OF REPRESENTATIVES
FIFTEEN STATES INCLUDING US, CANADA, BELGIUM, NETHERLANDS,
FRG, UK AND SWEDEN WHICH ARE PRESENT OR POTENTIAL EXPORTERS
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OF SPECIAL EQUIPMENT OR MATERIALS FOR USE IN NUCLEAR PROCESSES. A PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE OF ITS DELIBERATIONS OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS HAS BEEN TO ESTABLISH GUIDELINES AS TO WHAT EXPORTS OF MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT TO NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES NOT PARTY TO THE NPT SHOULD BE MADE ONLY ON THE CONDITION THAT SAFEGUARDS PURSUANT TO AN AGREEMENT WITH THE IAEA WILL BE APPLIED TO SPECIAL FISSIONABLE MATERIAL PROCESSED, USED OR PRODUCED WITH THE USE OF SUCH SUPPLIED MATERIAL OR EQUIPMENT. SUCH GUIDELINES ARE INTENDED TO (A) HELP TRANSLATE INTO PRAC-TICE THE UNDERTAKING UNDER ARTICLE III 2 OF THE NPT, ESPECIALLY FOR THOSE PARTICIPANTS WHO ARE OR EXPECT TO BECOME PARTIES TO NPT, AND (B) HELP INSURE THAT NUCLEAR SUPPLIERS FOLLOW A COMMON EXPORT POLICY, SO THAT THOSE WHO MIGHT OTHERWISE BE MORE LAX IN REQUIRING SAFEGUARDS WILL NOT THEREBY OBTAIN A COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE OVER THOSE WHO ARE SEEKING TO FULFILL THE OBJECTIVES OF ARTICLE III 2.

2. SUCH GUIDELINES WERE WORKED OUT WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE SOVIET UNION, BUT SEVERAL OF THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION THAT THEY WILL NOT ADHERE TO THE GUIDELINES UNLESS THE SOVIETS ALSO ACCEPT THEM. IN ADDITION, AS NOTED REF (A), MANY PARTICIPANTS HAVE CONDITIONED THEIR ADHERENCE TO COOPERATION OF FRANCE WHICH HAS NOT PARTICIPATED. OUR UNDERSTANDING IS THAT FRANCE WILL CONSIDER WHAT DEGREE OF COOPERATION THEY MIGHT GIVE ONLY AFTER SOVIET COOPERATION HAS BEEN ASSURED.

3. IT TOOK THE SOVIETS A CONSIDERABLE LENGTH OF TIME TO DECIDE THAT ANY CONNECTION WITH THIS EXERCISE WAS ACCEPTABLE TO THEM. FINALLY THEY PROPOSED BILATERAL DISCUSSIONS WITH US MISSION, DURING WHICH THEY COUNTERED WITH A MUCH MORE EXTENSIVE LIST OF ITEMS OF MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT, EXPORTS OF WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE CONDI-TIONED ON SAFEGUARDS, INCLUDING A NUMBER OF ITEMS THAT THE ZANGGER COMMITTEE HAD EARLIER CONSIDERED BUT COULD NOT REACH A CONSENSUS TO INCLUDE. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION, A FAR MORE MODEST LIST OF PROPOSED SOVIET ADDITIONS WAS ARRIVED AT, WHICH WAS REPORTED TO THE ZANGGER COMMITTEE AT ITS MOST RECENT MEETING IN MARCH.

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4. THESE MODIFIED SOVIET SUGGESTIONS ARE CURRENTLY BEING CONSIDERED IN THE CAPITALS OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES, INCLUDING THE ADDRESSEES HEREOF, WITH A VIEW TO GIVING THEIR REACTIONS AT A MEETING TO BE HELD IN VIENNA ON MAY 16. WE CONSIDER THIS A CRUCIAL MEETING, SINCE REJECTION OF THE MODIFIED SOVIET SUGGESTIONS COULD IMPERIL THE ENTIRE ZANGGER COMMITTEE EFFORT. THIS COULD RESULT

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IN EACH EXPORTER ADOPTING A DIFFERENT POLICY. WHILE THERE IS ALREADY SCHEDULED A REVIEW OF TRIGGER LIST IN SEPT 1974, CONSIDERABLE EROSION OF ARTICLE III 2 OF NPT COULD OCCUR DURING INTERIM COMPETITION FOR MORE LENIENT SAFEGUARDS CONDITIONS ON EXPORTS. WE ARE APPREHENSIVE, HOWEVER, THAT THE DECISIONS ON THIS MATTER MAY BE OVERLY INFLUENCED BY TECHNICAL- COMMERCIAL SPECIALISTS WHO MAY NOT GIVE DUE WEIGHT TO THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF OBTAINING SOVIET ACQUIESCENCE IN THE GUIDELINES.

5. FOR BRUSSELS AND THE HAGUE: EMBASSY SHOULD APPROACH FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS AT APPROPRIATELY HIGH LEVEL TO URGE THAT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO THE PROPOSED SOVIET SUGGESTIONS, AND THAT INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE MAY 16 MEETING TAKE DUE ACCOUNT OF THE IMPORTANCE OF OBTAINING SOVIET CONCURRENCE IN THIS EFFORT, WHICH WILL PRESUMABLY REQUIRE COMMITTEE ACCEPTANCE IN SUBSTANCE OF THE ALREADY WATERED DOWN SOVIET SUGGESTIONS. IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT BRINGING THE SOVIETS ALONG APPEARS

ESSENTIAL TO THE SUCCESS OF THE COMMITTEE' S EXERCISE, IN WHICH THE PARTICIPANTS HAVE A SERIOUS STAKE, AND THAT SOME PRICE WILL HAVE TO BE PAID FOR BRINGING THE SOVIETS ALONG WHEN THEY WERE EXCLUDED FROM THE EARLY STAGES OF THE COMMITTEE' S DELIBERATIONS. ADDRESSES MAY DRAW ON BACKGROUND DISCUSSION ABOVE TO EXTENT IT APPEARS HELPFUL. APPROACHES ALONG SAME LINES TO BONN, LONDON AND STOCKHOLM REQUESTED BY EARLIER REF (B).

6. REF (C) REPEATED TO ADDRESSES FOR INFO PROVIDES USEFUL BACKGROUND ON DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN US MISSION IAEA AND BELGIAN REPRESENTATIVE.

7. FOR OTTAWA: CANADIAN REPRESENTATIVE TO ZANGGER
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COMMITTEE MADE STRONG STATEMENT AT MARCH 19-20 MEETING FAVORING ACCOMMODATING SOVIET VIEWS. EMBASSY SHOULD INFORM APPROPRIATE OFFICIALS OF OUR CONCERNS AND OF OUR APPROACHES TO BRUSSELS, LONDON, BONN AND STOCKHOLM AND INQUIRE IF GOC MIGHT MAKE SIMILAR APPROACHES.
ROGERS

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